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FROM: SAN SALVADOR — 3 DESP. NO.

TO: THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON. — July 5, 1954. DATE

REF: ~~--~~

For Dept. Use Only: ARA-4 7/8 — DEPT. OCR-2 S/S-2 G-1 S/P STATE 7 P-1 — OTHER UNA-4 R*1 — BUREAU OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: Negotiation in San Salvador of Guatemalan Peace Pact - J 1954

(fde) 4/8

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Upon receipt of a telephone call from the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs at 9:20 a.m. on June 29, 1954, I arranged to call, accompanied by the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Carlos AZUCAR CHAVEZ and a member of my staff, upon President Oscar OSORIO to ascertain whether the latter was in agreement to holding a meeting in San Salvador between the Junta of Government headed by Col. Elfego MONZON which had early that same morning taken power in Guatemala and Col. Carlos CASTILLO ARMAS. I told the President when I called upon him at 11:00 a.m. that Ambassador PEURIFOY had been asked by the Junta whether we could arrange for a conference in San Salvador. I told the President I had received word from Washington that the Department considered it highly desirable that the United States and El Salvador cooperate by bringing the opposing sides together, which could probably best be done in San Salvador. I advised him the Junta wanted a conference and a cease-fire agreement and that probably one member of the Junta, accompanied by Col. Papel Roncio and the Salvadoran Ambassador to Guatemala, would fly to San Salvador in a United States Air Force plane. I asked the President, if he should be agreeable to this proposal, whether he would instruct Ambassador FUNES to advise the Junta and Ambassador Peurifoy that El Salvador would receive members of the two groups from any hour thereafter. I said the Department of State hoped to be able in some fashion to get word to Castillo Armas that the President was inviting the contending parties to meet in San Salvador and asked that the President himself endeavor to have a message sent to Castillo Armas through whatever means might be available to him. After considering the matter for a few minutes, President Osorio indicated his full agreement. He said he would instruct Ambassador Funes to get in touch with Ambassador Peurifoy and then to communicate to the Junta the invitation from the Salvadoran Government for a meeting to be held here. The President said he had no direct means of communicating with Castillo Armas but would attempt to do so. He believed, he said, our Embassy in Tegucigalpa might be in better position to convey a message since it might be able to do so through the representatives of Castillo Armas in that city. He added that he thought it most desirable to have a previously agreed upon agenda for the discussions. Subsequently, when I pointed out that the most immediate concern was to bring about a cease-fire order, he agreed a cease-fire could be arranged and the details of the discussions determined in the subsequent conversations. At 11:40 a.m. I telephoned this information to the Assistant Secretary in Washington. At the same time I attempted to telephone to the Embassy at Guatemala but did not succeed in getting through until nearly 3:00 p.m. However, the connection was exceedingly bad and the conversation was consequently inconclusive.

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At 2:00 p.m. on the afternoon of June 29 I received another telephone call from the Assistant Secretary in which he advised me that Ambassador Peurifoy felt it more urgent than ever that a cease-fire order be agreed upon. Mr. HOLLAND said he would personally appear before the Council of the OAS that afternoon but before doing so, wished to have President Osorio instruct Ambassador Castro that El Salvador joined with the United States in lending good offices to bring about a cease-fire. I immediately communicated with the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Adán Chávez, and at 2:55 was informed by him that the President had already telephoned Ambassador Castro in Washington instructing him to inform the members of the Council of the OAS that El Salvador was sponsoring a meeting to be held here.

Early on the morning of Wednesday, June 30, the Embassy was informed by the Foreign Office that it had received information to the effect that Col. Monzón was scheduled to arrive at about 10:00 a.m. and Col. Castillo Armas an hour later. Consequently, and as there had been no other word from Washington or the Embassy at Guatemala City, I proceeded to the military airport where the Chief of Protocol, the President of the Assembly, Col. BOLAÑOS and a number of other high officers were gathered. Conflicting messages were received regarding the departure of the groups from Guatemala and Honduras until eventually a message was received that the planes would not be in until that afternoon. Upon my return to the Embassy at 11:40 a.m., I received a telephone call from Mr. LEDDY to the effect that the plane carrying Col. Castillo Armas would reach El Salvador that afternoon. As the plane bore no identification marks, I was asked to notify the government to be on the alert in order that it would not encounter difficulties. Mr. Leddy told me our Air Attaché at Guatemala would fly Col. Monzón, leaving Guatemala at 1:00 p.m. and the plane would [illegible] overnight if necessary in order to bring the party back to Guatemala. I immediately notified the military and civil authorities of the new arrival time as indicated by Mr. Leddy and returned to the airport in the early afternoon. The plane from Guatemala arrived at 2:00 p.m. bringing Col. Monzón and his two principal advisors, Lic. Juan IBARRA and Eduardo CABRERA L. They were also accompanied by Major Rafael ARRIAZA and the Oficial Mayor, Efrain RODRIGUEZ GOMEZ. The Papal Nuncio, Monseñor Genaro VEROLINO, was also a member of the Monzón group. Moments later, the plane carrying Col. Castillo Armas landed immediately behind the Air Attaché's plane. In addition to Castillo Armas it brought Domingo GONZALEZ, Juan CORDOVA CERNA, Carlos SALAZAR, Col. Rodolfo MENDOZA, Major Enrique T. OLIVA and Lt. Antonio BETETA. Lic. Coronado LIRA had arrived earlier in the morning and it was said that he had made arrangements for Castillo Armas to spend the night at his house. The Salvadoran Ambassador to Honduras, Major Adolfo NUÑEZ MELHADO, had also arrived that morning.

Immediately following the arrival of the first two planes, the Air Mission plane from Guatemala landed, bringing a group of newspaper correspondents and photographers.

The entire official party immediately proceeded to the Casa Presidencial to make a formal call on the President. However, whatever may have been their original intentions, conversations were immediately started with the President of the Assembly, José María LEMAITA SALAZAR acting as the President's personal representative. All other persons were excluded from the room; consequently the

initial conversations which lasted from about 3:00 p.m. until 5:00 p.m. were limited to President Osorio, Sr. Peralta Salazar and Colonels Monzón and Castillo Armas. At 5:00 the meeting broke up and the two groups as well as their supporters and a number of armed bodyguards who had accompanied Col. Castillo Armas, went to Loma Linda, the home of the Minister of Economy, Rafael MEZA AYAU, for "lunch" as they had been without food since departure from their respective headquarters.

While private conversations took place at Loma Linda, they apparently did not advance matters in any way and the formal meeting was resumed at the Casa Presidencial at about 8:30 p.m. Prior to the resumption of the conversation, a member of my staff spoke to the President and was informed that nothing conclusive had been agreed to in the afternoon meeting. President Osorio said both Monzón and Castillo Armas disavowed any personal political ambitions but that each insisted upon being President. He was quite definite in stating that during the afternoon conversations, no offer had been made by Monzón to give Castillo Armas a post in the new Junta. Advantage was taken of this conversation to impress upon the President the contents of the last paragraph of Ambassador Peurifoy's telegram no. 1153 of June 30 to the Department.

The conversations, which were resumed at about 8:30, lasted without interruption until 10:20 p.m. when there was a break during which Colonels Monzón and Castillo Armas consulted their advisors. Discussions continued throughout the night with some indications of their general tenor becoming available from time to time. The Salvadoran proposal for a plebiscite was accepted in principle by both sides at one point but was subsequently turned down by Castillo Armas after consulting with Juan Cordova Cerna, one of his principal advisors. The general feeling among the Castillo Armas group was that Monzón had numerous ties with members of the ARBENZ regime dating from his time as Minister without Portfolio and would not proceed with the vigor and directness which were essential completely to eradicate communism in Guatemala. At 3:45 a.m. on the morning of July 1st, the conversations in the President's office terminated. The room was immediately filled with press correspondents who received little actual information other than that no agreement had been reached except to extend the cease-fire order until 9:00 a.m. on July 2.

When the correspondents and the large group of diplomats, Foreign Office officials, et cetera, left, the President called in an Embassy officer and asked Sr. Peralta Salazar to describe to him the several proposals which had been made and the general nature of the discussions. This information was conveyed to the Department in the Embassy's telegram no. 2 of July 1, 1954. In concluding the President said it had been impossible to bring about a meeting of minds. Both leaders had been exceedingly recalcitrant in the beginning but Monzón had agreed to the Salvadoran proposal and had advanced one of his own which contemplated a Junta of five members including Castillo Armas. The latter, however, had not agreed to the plebiscite proposal or to that advanced by Monzón and stuck tenaciously to his own that he be named Chief of the Armed Forces and Political Chief of the Republic. The President said he was exceedingly sorry a solution of the problem had been prevented by personal ambitions. He felt that if no agreement could be reached, the consequences would be exceedingly grave for the peace

of Central America and the only remaining chance would be for the United States to attempt to bring about an understanding between the two men. He said Monzón was returning to Guatemala in the early morning and that Castillo Armas was likewise leaving at about 8:00 a.m. to return to his troops.

While the telegram conveying the results of this lengthy discussion was being prepared, the Embassy received a telephone call from the Chief of the General Staff, Col. ESCAMILLA, that the President would like to see me at 8:30 a.m. A few minutes later, I finally got through on the telephone to Mr. Holland and reported the upshot of the night's conversations. The international phone service was not resumed until 7:00 a.m. as customary. Mr. Holland urged that all possible steps be taken to see that Monzón and Castillo Armas remained in San Salvador in order that further conversations might take place with Ambassador Peurifoy. This request was immediately telephoned to the President but he had left his office. However, the Chief of Staff was reached at his home and he promised, since it was already 8 o'clock and Castillo Armas might even at that moment be taking off, to get in touch with the President and request that he order the planes to be held. Meanwhile, both Castillo Armas and Monzón had returned to Loma Linda where they carried on a rather non-political conversation, the Minister of Economy, Sr. Meza Ayau, encouraging them to remain. When I reached the Casa Presidencial at 8:30, the President told me Col. Monzón was in the next room, having called to say good-bye, and that Col. Castillo Armas was expected shortly to make his farewell call. I told the President we felt it of the utmost urgency that a further opportunity be given to attempt to reach some agreement and that I had been informed by the Department that Ambassador Peurifoy would fly over from Guatemala. The President said he would do his best and when Col. Castillo Armas arrived, spoke with him in my presence, asking in the name of both governments that he delay his departure. Col. Castillo Armas agreed to remain until 10:00 and later, at my urging, until 11:00 a.m. and no apparent difficulty was encountered with Col. Monzón. The next few hours were difficult since it was obvious that Col. Castillo Armas wished to return to his troops. He said he had to give necessary orders and to arrange for supplies, water, et cetera. However, at one point during the morning, he engaged in a long if not very friendly conversation in my presence and that of the Nuncio, with Col. Monzón. Meanwhile, to keep the situation under control I advanced from time to time explanations accounting for the delay due to poor weather conditions and subsequently to Ambassador Peurifoy's having called upon the other members of the Junta before leaving.

Ambassador Peurifoy reached the Casa Presidencial at about 12:45 p.m. July 1. The Chief of Protocol, Ambassador ALVAREZ VIDAURRE, had been sent to the airport by the President at about 10:00 a.m. to meet Ambassador Peurifoy. I had myself wished to meet him but felt that I could not, in front of Ambassador Alvarez Vidaurre, give a very complete account of what had happened and also that as Col. Castillo Armas was extremely restive, it was necessary to stay close beside him, since he might at any time say he was leaving as he could no longer remain away from his troops. Upon arrival, Ambassador Peurifoy met immediately with the President and Sr. Peralta Salazar. I accompanied him, as did Mr. URIST who arrived with him from Guatemala, and a member of my staff. The President and Sr. Peralta Salazar described in outline, but quite completely, the nature of the three principal proposals which had been debated during the entire previous night.

The President asked Ambassador Peurifoy whether he had brought with him a concrete proposal which might bring about a solution of the impasse. Ambassador Peurifoy said he had planned to meet alone with Col. Castillo Armas and then with Col. Monzón, subsequently adjourning for an hour to the Embassy Residence during which time the two Colonels could consult their advisers and to return to meet with them jointly at about 4:30 p.m. These conversations and the subsequent developments during the night will undoubtedly be covered by reports to be prepared by the Embassy at Guatemala.

As the Department is aware, an agreement was finally reached and signed at about 5:00 a.m. on the morning of Friday, July 2. Copies of the Spanish text are enclosed.

It had been agreed that Colonels Monzón and Castillo Armas would accompany Ambassador Peurifoy to Guatemala in the Air Attaché plane. However, Col. Castillo Armas left some time after 7:00 a.m. for Chiquimula and Col. Monzón was apparently not informed of that fact until at the airport ready to depart at mid-morning. Col. Monzón said he would remain until Castillo Armas returned and that if he did not return that afternoon, they could go the next day. Messages were sent out in an effort to communicate with Castillo Armas urging the necessity of fulfilling the promise he had made to accompany Col. Monzón on the return to Guatemala City. After a good many tries in all directions, it was learned that he would return the following morning at 10:00 a.m. and would leave at 11:30 for Guatemala. Upon his return, Col. Castillo Armas drove to the Casa Presidencial where he met with President Osorio and reached the airport at about 12:00 noon or perhaps a bit later. The plane took off at 12:42 p.m., July 3, for Guatemala.

On the same morning Ambassador Peurifoy paid a courtesy call on President Osorio who had not appeared at the signing of the agreement on the morning of July 2. As a matter of fact, the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Carlos Asúcar Chávez, represented the President at that ceremony since Sr. Peralta Salazar was also not present. The President was cordial in his conversation with Ambassador Peurifoy and grateful for his efforts. It is felt, however, that he continued to share the rather general air of pessimism concerning the agreement which did not seem to satisfy either side. Nevertheless, the exceedingly important step of bringing about a cessation of the fighting between the government forces and those of Col. Castillo Armas had been taken and further political arrangements can perhaps be worked out under conditions of somewhat less pressure and tension.

Michael J. McDermott

Enclosure:

1. Spanish text of peace agreement (5 copies).

cc: Embassy, Guatemala;
MID.

Enclosure to San Salvador's despatch no. 3, 7/5/54

ARA

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.3
NLS 82-29 #1
By [illegible] NARA, Date 1/24/83

[illegible] de San Salvador, República de El Salvador, a las dos horas y treinta minutos del día dos de Julio de mil novecientos cincuenta y cuatro, reunidos en la Casa Presidencial, las siguientes personas: Excelentísimo señor don JOSE MARIA PERALTA, Presidente de la Honorable Asamblea Nacional Legislativa de El Salvador, quien actúa en representación del Excelentísimo señor Presidente de esta República, Coronel don OSCAR OSORIO; Su Excelencia Monseñor GIULIO VEROLINO, Nuncio Apostólico de Su Santidad ante los Gobiernos de Guatemala y El Salvador; Excelentísimo señor Embajador de El Salvador en Guatemala, Coronel don J. ALBERTO FUNES; Coronel don ELFEGO H. MONZON, Presidente de la Junta de Gobierno de la República de Guatemala- y Teniente Coronel don CARLOS CASTI[illegible] Miembro de la Junta de Gobierno Provisional organizado en la ciudad de Chiquimula de la República últimamente mencionada, solamente [illegible] con el objeto de restablecer la paz interna en la República de Guatemala, los Coroneles Elfego H. Monzón y Carlos Castillo Armas, en el carácter con que respectivamente actúan, y [illegible] los buenos oficios de las Autoridades de la República de El Salvador y diplomáticos nombrados, convienen en los pactos siguientes en los siguientes puntos:

PRIMERO: El Coronel ELFEGO H. MONZON y el Teniente Coronel CARLOS CASTILLO ARMAS con las representaciones con que actúan reconocen y declaran que los ideales y propósitos que impulsaron el movimiento libertador, encaminado a organizar una Junta de Gobierno [illegible] por el Coronel Elfego H. Monzón y Tenientes Coroneles [illegible] Castillo Armas y Mauricio Dubois, se identifican con los [illegible] y generosos anhelos que inspiraron al Movimiento de Liberación Nacional cuya dirección fué confiada al

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Teniente Coronel CARLOS CASTILLO ARMAS.

SEGUNDO: Que es fin fundamental de la Junta de Gobierno y de la Revolución Libertadora, combatir el comunismo que se entronizó en la República de Guatemala y organizar un Gobierno democrático representativo que de plenas garantías, restablezca el orden y la tranquilidad publicos y oriente su política por senderos de progreso, trabajo, reconstrucción económica y de justicia social, todo en beneficio del pueblo y del engrandecimiento de la nación guatemalteca.

TERCERO: Que habiendo tal identidad de ideales y propósitos entre ambas fuerzas armadas, sus jefes convienen en formar con ellas una sola unidad, fuerte y respetable, que erradique de Guatemala, para siempre, el comunismo y, desde luego, que cese el fuego entre ellas.

CUARTO: El Coronel Elfego H. Monzón, como miembro -Presidente- de la Junta de Gobierno, y el Teniente Coronel Carlos Castillo Armas como Jefe Supremo del Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, convienen, para integrar un organismo colectivo de gobierno que responda a la política del momento, en reorganizar la Junta, de la manera siguiente: Coronel Elfego H. Monzón; Tenientes Coroneles: Carlos Castillo Armas, José Luis Salazar y Mauricio Cruz Dubois; y Mayor Enrique T. Oliva, debiendo tomar inmediata posesión de sus cargos.

QUINTO: La Junta de Gobierno en referencia, y ya organizada en la forma dicha, ejercerá temporalmente las funciones legislativas y ejecutivas, durante el tiempo que sea indispensable para lograr el restablecimiento del orden constitucional en la República de Guatemala, mediante la promulgación de una Constitucion.

SEXTO: Provisionalmente fungirá como Presidente de la Junta

de Gobierno, el Coronel Elfego H. Monzón hasta por un término no mayor de quince días, dentro del cual deberá elegirse, por mayoría de votos de sus miembros, la persona que la presidirá definitivamente.

SEPTIMO: Tan pronto como se promulgue la Constitución en la República de Guatemala, se convocará a elecciones para Presidente de la República.

OCTAVO: La Junta de Gobierno de Guatemala asumirá la Jefatura de las Fuerzas Armadas y procederá a la organización del Poder Judicial. -

NOVENO: Las Fuerzas actualmente comandadas por el Teniente Coronel Carlos Castillo Armas se incorporarán al Ejército Nacional e ingresarán, conjuntamente con tal Ejército, a la Capital de la República donde se les rendirán el homenaje debido a sus esfuerzos. -

DECIMO: Todos los decretos, acuerdos, reglamentos y demás disposiciones que dicte la Junta de Gobierno, serán emitidos por mayoría de votos. -

DECIMO PRIMERO: Bajo los términos y condiciones que se dejan consignados en este documento, las partes contratantes acuerdan la paz definitiva y el total cese de hostilidades. La Junta Revolucionaria, reorganizada en la forma dicha, contemplará la conveniencia o inconveniencia de derogar o suspender, total o parcialmente, la actual Constitución de la República y el Teniente Coronel Carlos Castillo Armas, procederá a la inmediata derogatoria de los decretos, leyes y demás disposiciones por los cuales creó un Gobierno Provisional en Chiquimula. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

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DECIMO SEGUNDO: Ambas partes interesadas en obtener la paz, rinden tributo de gratitud a la República de El Salvador, a su Presidente y demás autoridades, y a sus Excelencias, Monseñor Verolino y Coronel Funes, por la noble intervención y los continuados buenos oficios que han prestado en pro del convenio que se formaliza y mediante el cual se restablece la paz en Guatemala y la tranquilidad en el Continente.

Para seguridad de las partes, se firma el presente, en seis ejemplares, en el propio lugar y fecha expresados al principio, siendo las tres horas y treinta minutos.

Elfego H. Monzón.

Carlos Castillo Armas

Por ausencia del Excelentísimo Señor José María Peralta, el Subsecretario de Relaciones Exteriores de El Salvador, Encargado del Despacho
Doctor Carlos Azúcar Chávez, autorizado por el Excelentísimo Señor Presidente de la República.

Carlos Azúcar Chávez

Genaro Verolino

J. Alberto Funes